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PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,034 Apr. 20, 1956 4d. (U.S. Air Express Edition: 10 cts.)

Dr. Soper on B and K

From DEREK WALKER

I BELIEVE that the prospects of world peace are fairer, and nearer than they have ever been in my lifetime," the Rev. Dr. Donald Soper told a large congregation in Kingsway Hall, the famous London Methodist "Peace Church," last Sunday evening.

He was giving the first of a series of three sermons on "Christianity and Friendship with Russia."

Friendship with Russia, Dr. Soper was certain, must be based on a clear realisation of facts. The first hard fact that had to be faced was that the Soviet Union is officially committed to atheism—so we would be making friends with people who hate our ideology. We would be making friends too, with rulers who are tyrants, men whose hands are stained with blood.

But if we were to consort only with those who were saints of our range of acquaintance, friendship would be very restricted—nor must we forget that our own country's record was not one of which we could be unreservedly proud.

The criterion by which, Dr. Soper believed, Christians must work out their attitude to the Russian regime is to be found in the words of Jesus, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Using that criterion, he thought that he could discern certain grounds for hope.

From the very fact that Mr. Malenkov was alive, it would seem that the present rulers in the Kremlin had renounced one of the more terrible aspects of tyranny. But even more important, in Dr. Soper's view, is the fact that Russia is committed to the idea and practice of the "planned society," and thereby we have a common interest—an interest in exchanging ideas and sharing experiences.

CHALLENGE

For, in his opinion, no society in this modern world can give fullness of life to all its people unless it is planned and co-ordinated from top to bottom.

The opportunities afforded us by the visit of Khrushchov and Bulganin were very considerable, said Dr. Soper.

In welcoming them we had a chance of expressing to the ordinary people of Russia a message of peace and goodwill—and the peace of the world would come only when the ordinary people in every land realised how much they had in common.

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Does Whitehall Want Peace Army?

From a Parliamentary Correspondent

COULD the International pacifist movement raise 10,000 volunteers, pledged to non-violence, for a United Nations Peace Army? What would be the effect of such an Army on public opinion and conventional national (armed force)?

Planning such a Peace Army? Would pacifists be willing to serve under an appointee such as General Burns?

These and many related questions are being discussed by MPs and others close to official circles following a speech by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd in the House on January 24.

Referring to the need for strengthening Gen. Burns' UN Observer Corps on the Arab-Israeli border, he said:

"It might be a very good thing if, with the approval of both sides, there could be established in demilitarised zones some bodies of UN derivation to keep the peace."

"I know there are all sorts of difficulties, such as recruitment, payment, supply, discipline, whether or not they should be armed, dis-

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HUDDLESTON'S ANSWER: EQUALITY



Photo: Collins

By Olwen Battersby

"SOUTH AFRICA is a country, calling herself Christian, where four-fifths of the people have no effective voice; a country where citizenship and human rights as we understand them are denied to those who can most truly call themselves Africans."

"It is a country which stands nakedly and unashamedly alone, proclaiming a doctrine of 'white supremacy'—for it is to this end that a policy of apartheid is directed."

Unless the Church spoke up today, she might never have another opportunity. South Africa would look towards a Black Nationalism, or Communism.

These are the harsh truths which Father Huddleston put before 7,000 people in the Albert Hall, at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, on Tuesday, which has supported him so generously in his fight against apartheid.

At a crowded Press Conference in London on the previous day Father Huddleston had said:

"South Africa always talks as a Christian country, and in the name of Christian democracy. She has only herself to blame if we take her up on this point."

He emphasised the fact that he was not speaking specifically to the British people, nor to the British Government; his task was to arouse the Christian conscience to constant and vocal expression of disgust at things which were contrary to the Christian gospel.

"For South Africa is sensitive—far more than she pretends to be—to Christian opinion."

COLOUR QUESTION

"The colour issue is a far more vital issue for Christians than is Communism," said Father Huddleston.

For the colour issue allowed the Christian to compromise with his own conscience, and if the Christian did this over a sufficiently long period of time, then he was making certain that South Africa would reject Christianity.

"The solution is clear," he continued, "It is integration on the social, economic and political level."

Those who have had the privilege and joy of working with the African people wonder why it should be assumed that it is impossible for both to live happily together.

"As soon as you say that, someone asks 'but what if a black man married your sister.' As a Christian I simply refuse to be interested in the question at this level."

Apartheid was "injustice, indignity and hurt to White as well as to Black." A Christian policy implied a recognition that the African was a person, with skills, abilities and talents which could be developed for the general good.

His concern was for the moral principle—for the creation of a Christian society; he was content to leave it to God to take care of the rest.

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JOSS ON THE PEACE-PATH



"Egypt and Israel have agreed not to fire deliberately at Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld."

NOT JUSTIFIED!

U.S. Commissioner's verdict on Hiroshima

ONE of the five members of the US Atomic Energy Commission has condemned the bombing of Hiroshima in 1945 as being without justification on moral grounds.

Mr. Thomas Murray, giving evidence before the Foreign Relations Committee of the US Senate, said:

"Our moral tradition does not permit us to use nuclear weapons whose effect is mass destruction on an indiscriminate scale. As the only historical examples of the use of nuclear weapons in warfare Hiroshima and Nagasaki are pertinent. The weapon used on Hiroshima, for instance, was fifteen kilotons or so, about sixty thousand times more powerful than the largest conventional bomb of the First World War. It destroyed four or five square miles of territory and killed or injured nearly 150,000 people."

"At our present distance from that disastrous event I do not think that the use of this bomb against this particular target, the city of Hiroshima and its multitudes of innocent people, could be justified on moral grounds."

Speaking of the situation today he said that the use of force in wartime was subject to the dictates of the moral conscience.

"There is something in the atmosphere of the age of violence through which we have lived, in which indeed we are still living, that tends to dull the moral sensibility. In a strange way the sheer brilliance of our technical achievements with nuclear weapons also tends to dull the moral sense. It is therefore necessary constantly to remind ourselves that a concern for justice in the use of force is an obligation upon a civilised nation."

Mr. Murray urged that the United States should stop testing hydrogen bombs and should limit their size and the number in the stockpile. Even the present size might be too much.

The stockpile should include only weapons that the United States could legitimately intend to use. The deterrent value of nuclear weapons

ANOTHER A-BOMB DEATH

THE death of another victim of the Hiroshima Atom bombing has been reported by the Kyodo News Service.

Sanetoshi Hamashiro, a farmer who was at the railway station in Hiroshima when the Atom bomb was dropped in 1945, appeared to have enjoyed good health until November, last year, when his gums began to bleed and his white blood cell count dropped.

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TESTING-GROUND FOR NON-VIOLENCE

THE first stage of Mr. Hammarskjöld's mission in the Middle East appears to have met with success.

His proposal to Egypt and Israel is that (1) the demarcation line be clearly re-marked to avoid unintended incidents that could lead to large-scale conflicts, and (2) there shall be a demilitarised zone of 500 yards on each side of this line in which no troops would be allowed. It would be permissible for civilians to work the land in this zone on either side down to the armistice line.

The proposals also look to the limitation of troops and armament in "designated areas." The whole arrangement is to be controlled by a patrol of UN observers of double the size of the present 40-man observer force.

This plan as presented by Mr. Hammarskjöld has apparently been received with favour by Colonel Nasser. Mr. Hammarskjöld was due to arrive in Israel on Tuesday to discuss the proposals with the Israeli Government.

It should be noted that the line to be thus temporarily stabilised is an armistice line and not a border line. The arrangements, if accepted, would have nothing except that the negotiations for a permanent settlement acceptable to both sides should be carried on in an atmosphere not continually clouded with hatred arising from repeated outbreaks of violence from either side.

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IN this situation the plan put forward by Mr. Henry Osborne, MP, referred to in Peace News last week, becomes of particular importance.

Speaking on January 24 on the troubles along the armistice line, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd referred to the need for more adequate action under UN auspices. He remarked that the 40 UN observers could only investigate after incidents had occurred and try to establish responsibility. They could have no preventive function.

With a demarcation line covering hundreds of miles the observer force of 80 that is now proposed could not function in any essentially different manner, although they might be able to fulfil their function more thoroughly.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd indicated that he had in mind the possibility of there being established under UN auspices in the demilitarised zone groups of considerably greater number than the observers, with the positive function of keeping the peace.

Mr. Osborne has now suggested that such a force should be unarmed and that it should operate on the principles of satyagraha. It should be a cosmopolitan force of 10,000.

"The existence of this large corps of unarmed and dedicated men encamped along the hundreds of miles of the two-kilometre wide border strip might, I think, give some assurance to both Israelis and Arabs (who would each have then withdrawn the suggested kilometre from the present demarcation line) that this neutral belt would not be forcibly reoccupied. The subsequent lessening of tension might thereafter make sensible readjustments more easily negotiable."

We greatly hope this plan proposed by Mr. Osborne will be given serious consideration. We should not expect any of the Governments concerned, or the United Nations, to take an initiative of this kind. Indeed it would be undesirable that they should do so. A corps of this type recruited under direct official auspices would not inspire the necessary trust.

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WE hope, however, that the various voluntary organisations that may be expected to be interested will give consideration to the idea. We might hope that from India, which has such a magnificent record, and a wealth of experience, in the application of this conception could come an encouraging initiative.

It would be as well if such a corps could have a positive function of assisting development and succouring distress in the area concerned that could emphasise the positive aims of its peacemaking function.

It needs to be emphasised that the adoption of such a scheme as a filling-out and reinforcement of the plan that Mr. Hammarskjöld is discussing with the various parties in the dispute would no more provide a solution to the main dispute than does Mr. Hammarskjöld's plan itself.

What could be hoped would be that it would provide a new and more hopeful climate of opinion that would be more propitious for settlement. It might also suggest to the Powers that there can be better ways of helping a settlement than the provision of military force.

Iceland, Ceylon and Mark Twain

LETTER FROM USA
by A. J. Muste

DEVELOPMENTS are taking place in two comparatively small countries, one of them indeed very small, situated in very widely separated spots on the planet's surface which vividly illustrate a number of highly significant factors in the shifting world scene. One of these countries is Iceland, the other Ceylon.

In Iceland there is a 25,000 acre air field astride the Great Circle route half-way between New York and Moscow.

Some years ago when the February 1948 Communist coup in Czechoslovakia was fresh in the minds of Western Europeans and the Korean War got under way, the Icelandic Government was drawn into the apprehension of possible Russian aggression which seized many Western Europeans. As a part of NATO defences it consented to the enlarging of the base at Reykjavik and its occupation and control by US troops.

BEHIND THE RESOLUTION

The US now has an investment of at least \$150,000,000 in the base with its extensive radar installations. Military and political leaders generally consider that the loss of the base would be a major blow to the US Strategic Air Command and to the military defence of NATO countries.

A resolution was recently carried in the Icelandic Parliament pointing toward the termination of the agreement under which the US runs the base. Part of the agreement is that Icelanders are quite capable of opera-

ting it, but this seems a subterfuge since it is hardly to be expected that the US Air Force is going to turn over its craft to them to operate.

The resolution was timed to have a bearing on the Icelandic elections which are to take place in June. Probably the chief issue in that election is not the one about the US occupation.

Parties representing the small middle class and peasants have been in control, but partly because of the business and trade brought by the base and its 4,000 troops, the workers in industry and transportation are increasing.

Partly, again, because of the presence of American troops, the pinch of inflation is felt by them. They are determined to gain a majority in order to ease and improve their economic status.

They have consequently organised in unions, the dock and transport workers one hundred per cent.

There are 2,000 Communists on the island, it is estimated, which is a large number for a population which totals only 160,000. These Communists have concentrated on organising the key unions.

Their party, which is known as the United Socialist Party, has combined with the left wing Social Democrats and this combination, while not too

THE positive proposals in the testimony of Mr. Thomas Murray of the US Atomic Energy Commission before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (see page one) really only amounted to an advocacy of the conception of "limited warfare"—the policy of the "graduated deterrent."

That is the same policy favoured by a section of the Pentagon staff and of a considerable number of this country's military men.

We believe the conception to be based on a fallacy and equally likely to lead to general destruction as is the present insensate policy, condemned by Mr. Murray, of continuing to pile up enough explosive to destroy mankind several times over.

What was very important in Mr. Murray's evidence was his frank declaration that what was done at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was a monstrous moral outrage.

We do not believe that there can be honest thinking on the threat that is now hanging over the world until this fact is brought out into the open and faced.

We think that Mr. Murray is to be honoured for his courage in speaking out.

Facing the crimes

WE are at present witnessing the attempt of the Russian leaders to cleanse themselves of the moral outrage for which many of them must share responsibility in the 1930's.

They approach the matter gingerly, seeking to lessen the sense of the moral horror of the events with which they are dealing by discussing the matter, as is their wont, on the basis of errors in theory, or the incorrect interpretation of the works of Marx and Lenin.

It is nevertheless possible that they are on the way to a genuine reevaluation of their basic principles of action.

There is an equal need for a moral reevaluation among the Powers of the West.

Just as it is impossible for the Russian leaders to appraise moral values until they have faced and cleansed themselves, so far as is possible, of the crimes of Stalinism, so is it impossible for the American leaders and those whose policies are linked with theirs to reach a sane moral evaluation until they have faced and cleansed themselves, so far as is possible, of the crimes of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Landslide in Ceylon

AS recently as at the beginning of the present month, Sir John Kotelawala and his now heavily defeated United National Party were still expected to win Ceylon's general election, though perhaps with a reduced majority.

Now, instead of 56 seats out of the 92 in the island's Parliament, the UNP holds eight. Mr. Bandaranaike,

likely to gain a majority in a three-sided contest, will probably hold the balance of power.

The workers, not seeing any hope in Capitalism as espoused by Iceland's middle class and peasants or as seen in the US, are Socialists or Communists as the case may be.

Because the US is capitalist and its air base and soldiers offend their national spirit, they go along with the Communists in, on the one hand, not being afraid of Russia which doesn't have any troops in Iceland and, on the other hand, being sympathetic on the whole toward Russia, China and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe.

ON THE WRONG SIDE

The US has its mind concentrated on the military problem. It does business with the Independent Party of the incumbent Prime Minister Thors. It is on the wrong side in the economic struggle. To some extent it offends the sense of independence of all Icelanders.

When American propagandists or Independent Party spokesmen warn against the dangers of Russia and Communism, the hard-bitten Communist boss, Brynjolfur Bjarnason says, very likely with tongue in cheek, "The bourgeois and peasant parties are always fighting the elections up and down the Volga River in Russia. We Socialists (sic) prefer to fight Iceland's battle in Iceland."

But Iceland's workers agree with him. The unions under his control call a strike, the Communists are the

leader of the opposition People's United Front, has become Prime Minister with a direct following of 51 representatives in Parliament, giving him an absolute majority over the combined total of the other five political parties, most of which, moreover, are not even in direct opposition to him.

That is what political writers generally describe as a landslide, and believers in orthodox Western ideas may well call a disaster, because

Moral cleansing

Ceylon

Naziism

Oil

Conscription

Advance to neutralism

Mr. Bandaranaike's political programme includes the nationalisation of banking, insurance and other outstanding forms of foreign investment including the great tea estates—and something else as well.

YET something like this election result could be foreseen by anyone not afflicted with self-complacency. To begin with, about one half of the electorate of approximately 3½ million are women, with family budgets tight enough to make the price of rice a decisive factor; and as that price is high, and two-thirds of the country's rice supplies have to be imported, close, friendly relations with Burma and China are to the people of more importance than any number of ideological explanations about a free West and an enslaved East.

Secondly, the Ceylonese have no more reason than the Indians have to see any advantage for themselves in taking sides in the West v. East struggle.

They are not anti-British except in so far as for many of them "British" means that profits drawn from their country's natural wealth seem to go mostly into British pockets. But they are completely unwilling to be made to interpret friendliness for the West as enmity towards China and Russia.

In terms of power politics the arrival of a government in Ceylon under the leadership of Mr. Bandaranaike means that the West cannot feel quite so certain about the permanence of its naval and air bases on the island; that communication with Australia in the event of a war might have to be found via a different air route, and that another Eastern

country is leaving no one in doubt that it is advancing towards a neutralism which Western strategists detest.

Nazi agents

THE office for the protection of the West German Federal Consulate has stated that there are newspapers and periodicals and news letters and brochures which openly present a dangerous type of nationalism.

It is suggested that right-wing radicalism is kept alive in Germany mainly by the efforts of the "Nazi International" and that there has been increased activity among Nazis who travel between Germany and other centres of Neo-Fascist groups in Spain, France, Egypt, still no news as to when he is to

Bail has been refused, and there is Argentina and elsewhere.

Internationalise

THE type of economy that has been developed in Britain is dependent on oil. Without its due share of oil produced in the Middle East, the nation would soon have five million unemployed.

The danger of war in the Middle East therefore carries with it for Britain the almost certain suspension, if not total cessation, of its oil supplies.

Some new thinking on the subject is very much overdue, and a world price should go to Mr. Maurice Edelman, MP, for his speech to constituents at Coventry in which he advocated a sort of internationalisation of the oil resources of the Middle East.

Could not Britain, Russia and the United States, he asked, agree to set up a Petroleum Authority for the Middle East, similar to the European Coal and Steel Community?

Mr. Edelman's suggestion points to the right course, assuming that what he has in mind is that the Governments he mentions should take the initiative for the establishment of such an Authority, and that the governments of the oil-producing countries agree and are properly represented in the controlling body.

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Colours
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From B.A.
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BAN PEACE CONVERSATION Newspaperman Peace News is on Police Inspector yet, no. But we are very borderline. It

The Report of th Colonial Liberat November last y it from 374 Gray's

19,684 conscripts a Cyprus, Kenya, abroad, accordin Secretary of State MP, in the House

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN provides a grim commentary on evil of conscription.

On April 10, the Guardian told "young recruits from the Nantes with only about four months' training, fighting in the Nementcha Mountains.

"There were between 40 and 50 them under a captain and an ens These two officers were killed along at the outset, as were nearly half their men."

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Colour bar in N. Rhodesia

From BASIL DELAINE
Peace News Correspondent in Lusaka, N. Rhodesia.

EUROPEANS in Northern Rhodesia have been given a straight warning by a Government-appointed committee. The main part of the warning is:

If a policy of laissez-faire is adopted towards the colour-bar there is a danger of Africans resorting to "other measures, not always lawful."

The Committee has just completed a six-month survey of racial discrimination in shops and other businesses in the Territory.

The report explains that it found evidence of racial discrimination, but of the removal of all forms of discrimination it says:

If haste is made too quickly there is an equal danger of provoking a strong reaction in certain sections of the European community."

While the Committee is at this stage against legislation to outlaw the colour-bar, it recommends the setting up of a race relations "watch committee" which, if all else fails, should recommend the introduction of legislation to deal with the problem.

WHITES' VESTED INTEREST

One of the most forthright parts of the report is from a memorandum submitted to the Committee by a European. This says:

"The fear the European of low intelligence and ability has of slipping down in the social scale is a very real one."

"The more so because a European settling in Central Africa often finds himself a notch or two higher in the social scale and something recently won is always more bitterly defended."

"One of our (Central Africa's) biggest educational problems is what to do with children who, in Europe, would dig ditches, saw wood and draw water."

"This type of European knows that his white skin is his biggest asset, and doesn't want it to mean any less than it does now."

"He has a vested interest in racial discrimination."

BAN PEACE NEWS?

CONVERSATION for two in Lusaka: Newspaperman—"Can you tell me whether Peace News is on the banned list?" Police Inspector (Security Branch)—"Not yet, no. But we are keeping our eyes open. It's very borderline. It may be banned later."

The Report of the World Conference for Colonial Liberation which took place in November last year, is available, price 1s., from 374 Gray's Inn Rd., London, W.C.1.

19,684 conscripts are now with the Army in Cyprus, Kenya, Malaya and other stations abroad, according to figures given by the Secretary of State for War to Frank Allaun, MP, in the House of Commons on March 20.



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RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

CHALLENGE

Stuart Morris' BBC Broadcast

On March 8 Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union stated the pacifist case in the BBC's Northern Home Service programme: "Challenge"—a series in which statements on minority views are subject challenged by other speakers taking part in the programme.

Stuart Morris was "challenged" by Father Christie, S.J. and Prof. H. V. Wiseman of

OPENING STATEMENT BY STUART MORRIS:

IF you look up the word in the Oxford Dictionary, you'll see that "pacifism" is defined as the belief that the abolition of war is both desirable and possible—possible through a faith which offers a new way of life for the nation and the individual.

Now, you don't have to be a pacifist, surely, to agree that experience has shown the impossibility of securing peace by means of war. Means will determine ends, and wrong means can't become effective just because they are used for the right ends.

Phrases like "peace by deterrents"—which has recently replaced "negotiation from strength"—may have a comforting sound, but their logical conclusion is the assertion of Mr. Dulles that we have been brought to the "brink of war" three times in recent months.

In other words, gambling on the H-bomb and relying on fear makes no positive contribution to peace and increases mistrust and hatred, so that real negotiations remain impossible.

For those who believe that war is immoral, the H-bomb introduces no new moral factor. But it has altered the political situation. The fact that a stock-pile of bombs, sufficient to destroy the world, can be hidden beyond detection has ruined any hope of a controlled reduction of armaments.

war outmoded

The H-bomb by offering no prospect of victory but only certain destruction has, in fact, outmoded war. No, the only way to abolish war is through unilateral disarmament, by one country stepping out of the vicious circle and giving a moral lead to the rest of the world.

How, then, are we to meet the menace of Communism, you ask? Surely the real menace of Communism lies in the exploitation of intolerable world conditions, and that can only be met by using our resources for the war on man's real enemies—hunger, disease and preventable death.

So the refusal of war, which may seem to be negative, makes possible the positive blueprint of a peaceful world, in which the needs and hopes of millions of oppressed and hungry people have been met.

Hence the pacifist challenge to faith and conscience. Renounce war for the immoral thing it is, not because we may be the victims of an H-bomb, but because we should make thousands of others its victims.

Adopt unilateral disarmament, rely on negotiations and employ all resources on building a new world. And do what is right despite doubt as to how others will respond.

This is a realistic policy, particularly to Christians. The Old Testament records man's spiritual development from seeing God as a God of battles to seeing Him as the Suffering Servant. And after all, Christ was born in an occupied country and though He appeared to be the obvious leader of a violent resistance

A message of encouragement

A MESSAGE of "hope and encouragement" was sent to John Gascoyne, 22-year-old Yorkshire conscientious objector, when he was sent to prison for two months last year.

It came from delegates representing 150,000 of Gascoyne's fellow agricultural workers.

Now Gascoyne has been sent to prison for a second time for refusing to be conscripted.

The Chairman of the Malton Magistrates asked the prosecuting solicitor at the second hearing:

"If we send Gascoyne to prison again is the Ministry going to be waiting at the gate for him again when he comes out? It is a most distasteful possibility, cat-and-mouseing like that."

After the first sentence, the District Organiser of the National Union of Agricultural Workers, Mr. J. Brocklebank, MBE, JP, told Peace News:

"I do not share Gascoyne's pacifist convictions, but I have known this young man since he was about 10 years of age. His father is a lifelong pacifist."

"What worries me is the complete lack of understanding when a stand is taken of this kind; made more unjust in an industry like ours where all kinds of steps are known to be taken to avoid military service, while some of the same people would not hesitate to try and deny the right of young Gascoyne to earn his own living in his own way, for which he has been partly trained."

Also warmly supporting John Gascoyne in his stand is Miss Joan Maynard, JP, CC, Secretary of the Thirsk and Malton County Constituency Labour Party. A pacifist, she seconded the motion which sent the message of hope and encouragement.

Leeds University, with William Grundy in the chair. The title given to the broadcast was "Pacifism: The Unconditional Rejection of War."

Peace News prints this broadcast by permission of the BBC and the speakers. Father Christie wishes to remind readers that this was discussion in which the contestants were asked to be vigorous in pressing their points.

movement, He refused that role as destructive of His purpose.

Christ and the early Christians were pacifists, unconditionally rejecting violence for offence or defence, and though some churchmen have attempted to approve violence in terms of the just war, no modern war can fulfill the conditions they laid down.

armed with love

Christians who argue that war must be supported as the lesser of two evils leave man no opportunity of doing God's will, since God cannot will a lesser evil. To Christ the choice was not confined to using violence or acquiescing in tyranny. Though He refused violence, He met evil by positive good and did battle with it unarmed except with love. So He solved the dilemma—not peace at any price, but love at all costs.

Pacifists don't deny the existence of evil or seek to appease it. On the contrary, they would oppose it by refusing to participate in what is wrong, and by meeting violence with a resistance which seeks not to compel or conquer but to persuade and convert.

I challenge my critics to disprove my assertion that war cannot solve our problems, that its acceptance involves doing violence to conscience, and that pacifism is an integral part of humanism, socialism, Christianity and all other religions. Only through pacifism can we enthrone moral values and solve the problem



Kikuyu detainees at the Athi River Camp, Kenya.

REVERSE STRIKERS SHOT

Italian police attack peaceful workers

The brutality of police action against men who voluntarily undertake socially useful work as a means of calling attention to the needs of the unemployed and hungry people of Italy is illustrated by this report, translated and reprinted from Seme Anarchico. Danilo Dolci led men in a similar "reverse strike" at Partinico on February 2 for which he was arrested.

AT Venosa, shots have been fired against men who were exercising one of their most sacred rights: the right to work.

At Partinico, the affair stopped short of bloodshed, but even so, the police there made a fierce attack upon labourers engaged upon their work, and made numerous arrests, and subsequent charges against men who dared to defend the right to work of the unemployed and the hungry.

At Venosa in the province of Potenza the great mass of the unemployed had in the New Year sent a delegation to the Prefecture to beg the Prefect to intervene personally to get the current sum assigned to "winter help" actually allocated with all speed to its actual purpose.

The sluggish bureaucracy showed no signs of getting a move on, and meanwhile the labourers were starving.

It was common knowledge that the funds needed for the repair of the Extramural road were already voted, but nobody had actually decided on making a start on the job.

In those circumstances, on the morning of January 13, the men themselves decided to start the work, and so set about it with picks and shovels. . . .

The police authorities gave orders to their rank and file to wrench from the hands of the workers the tools they were using. . . .

TEAR GAS AND GUNS

The police, armed with staves, struck violently at the wrists of the workers, and having seized the picks and shovels cast them into a ravine over 30 yards deep.

Immediately afterwards, the police threw tear gas to disperse the workers. The latter, however, were not even given time to get away. The gendarmes were ordered to fire and the opening shots were directed against a mass of men who had their backs turned.

A young labourer, Rocco Girasale by name, fell struck in the shoulders by a charge of shot at a few yards' range.

April 20, 1956—PEACE NEWS—3

ECONOMIC BLIZZARD



RISE costs are hitting us hard. The need for a generous and wide-spread response to this appeal for the Peace News Fund grows increasingly urgent.

I would ask all of our readers who are members of Trade Unions, Church organisations or other groups which may not normally make a financial contribution to peace activities to appeal to these bodies to support the work of Peace News by contributing to our publishing deficit.

Peace News is the only weekly newspaper serving the world cause of peace and the constructive activities which contribute to a peaceful world.

If you wish for a fuller briefing before standing up at your next branch meeting to speak on our behalf, will you please write for a copy of our annual report and accounts for 1956. This will provide much more information about us than I can give here.

I am encouraged to make this appeal by the receipt of £3 from a Quaker Meeting in Eccles (yes, Eccles again!).

"We send it with our good wishes for the continuance of a fine newspaper and hope it will encourage other Friends' Meetings to do the same," writes the Clerk. The £3, he tells us, is "the result of one month's collection from our Meeting."

Buy two copies of Peace News a week if you can, gain new readers, collect money for our Fund. If all our readers will do one or more of these things we shall weather the economic blizzard of 1956.

Contributions since April 6: £26 9s. 9d. Total since January 1, 1956: £192 8s. 2d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.A.

of living together in God's world.

The following is a record of the subsequent discussion:

FATHER CHRISTIE: I don't think Mr. Morris has been very fortunate in appealing to the Oxford Dictionary. I don't think that definition of "pacifism" is very specific. Peace seems to me to be an ordered state of international society, and it requires a great deal of work to keep it in being.

Peace is not merely a condition where men don't do things, but a positive state of things

● ON PAGE FOUR

Early gaol birds can now get . . .

THINKING of going to jail? Young pacifists and their friends will be glad to hear that the Governor of Wormwood Scrubs Prison, London, has agreed to add Peace News to the periodicals which prisoners are allowed to receive. Copies to jailed CO's should be sent direct from Peace News office.

We shall be glad to hear from interested readers, and will take up the matter with any other prison authorities where readers are at present unable to receive their usual weekly newspaper.

CHALLENGE

● FROM PAGE THREE

where men keep the peace, and it is necessary for them to enforce the peace. How do you get out of that difficulty?

STUART MORRIS: I would agree. I would accept the definition of peace as the "tranquillity of order," but, after all, we have arrived at a system of law and order in this country at the expense of the surrender of the individual and his right to carry arms, and to be the judge in his own quarrel.

And I think we can have this tranquillity of order on an international scale if nations also surrender their rights.

FR. C.: That is not quite fair. You do enable the police force to enforce the law and punish the criminal, and it is the duty of the individual to assist the police in that, if asked.

police force

S. M.: But not by the methods of war. There is always a danger of confusing what is called police action with military action. An international police force is often wrongly so called because its functions are thought of as those of the military and quite different to those of the police.

FR. C.: I don't think that's very clear. It is confusing means and principles. It is obviously the duty of the citizen to assist the police in keeping order. Now that is the point at issue.

He is not allowed to use tear gas or bombs, but that is a question of the means employed. The question is whether it is necessary to enforce the law.

S. M.: Enforce the law, but not necessarily by means of violence. I agree we do allow violence in extreme cases, but it should be recognised that when the police were consulted in connection with the Commission on Crimes of Violence, every police force in the country stated emphatically that they did not wish to be armed.

FR. C.: Nobody does. The question is: What is necessary?

S. M.: Necessary? Obviously they did not regard it as necessary, or they would have asked to be armed.

FR. C.: There is a slight confusion here. This is not a matter of whether the police carry a revolver. They may enforce the law, deprive the criminal of his liberty if necessary.

S. M.: I am not opposing all use of force. We obviously cannot. The world is held together by force. I distinguish between force and violence, and, after all, the moral foundation upon which the authority of the police rests is that it is based upon public opinion and the support of others.

FR. C.: Must a Jesuit accuse you of casuistry?

S. M.: The police only get nervous when they are not certain whether they can control a crowd.

FR. C.: We are called upon by the police—any of us, as citizens—to take a man in charge and enforce the law, in order that peace may be preserved within this community.

S. M.: Personally—all pacifists would not agree with me—I have no objection at all in a disarmed world to an international police force which acts as a police force, arrests an individual or a group of individuals who conspire to break international law, and brings them before a court of justice.

FR. C.: Then all you are really saying is that what you are arguing about is means, not principles. You have conceded to me the principle that force is necessary.

"completely fantastic"

S. M.: No, I don't think I have conceded to you the principle that force is necessary. We have to distinguish between force and violence.

FR. C.: That seems even to me, too subtle.

S. M.: There is no real comparison between the action of a police force and the action of war, and it is war which I am opposed to.

THE CHAIRMAN TO DR. WISEMAN: I think that your grounds for disagreeing will be somewhat different from Father Christie's.

DR. WISEMAN: Yes, very different. I must say that I think so far the argument has been pretty irrelevant to the real issue before us tonight. The phrase that sticks in my mind is the statement that the only way to abolish

war is by unilateral disarmament. Let us look at this as a practical possibility.

You say it is realistic; I think it is completely fantastic. It's fantastic for two reasons. First of all, if you want to get your own nation to commit itself to unilateral disarmament, you have got to be able to sell your policy to it. Now do you frankly believe that there is any chance of converting the whole of the British nation to the doctrine of pacifism as a practical policy?

Why, good heavens, even those most committed to the notion of pacifism, the international socialists, who, it was alleged in 1914, were going to refuse to take arms against their brothers, proceeded to do so when war broke out!

S. M.: I do not agree that there is no hope at all of converting this nation. I admit that it may be a slow process. I do not even admit that you have to convert the whole country. All progress, as I see it, in recent times has been made through the instrument of an effective minority. I mean, take the abolition of the slave trade, for instance, or the Factory Acts—anything you like. Take the most recent example of all; where we have had this changed vote in the House of Commons on capital punishment. It's a minority which is effecting the opinion in the country, and I don't think you necessarily have to wait to get a majority view. But, apart from that, I would, of course, much rather that everyone accepted pacifism from the moral angle...

FR. C.: May I interrupt there to say that that argument applies both ways. A minority can also enforce a war.

disarmament

S. M.: Not if the country is disarmed. May I go on? It seems to me that it is the pressure of circumstances from almost every angle which is going to persuade people that unilateral disarmament is not only the right thing from the normal point of view but the best economics and the best policy.

And I think the pressure at the political level is making people give to pacifism and the idea of unilateral disarmament the thought which they have not been prepared to give it before.

DR. W.: Well, I would dispute that. So far as this country itself is concerned I would have thought the prospect for pacifism was much less now than in the 1930's for example. But we will differ on this and there is no point in pursuing it. I'll give you for the moment just for the sake of argument, your case. I will assume you have succeeded in imposing a policy of unilateral disarmament on the country in converting people to it. I don't think you ever will, but I will concede it for the sake of argument. You were saying this is going to be a moral lead to the rest of the world. This seems to me even more fantastic. In the period between the wars I suppose Britain went nearer to unilateral disarmament than any other country has ever done.

S. M.: I would not admit that.

DR. W.: Well, the facts speak for themselves if you look at the degree to which we were prepared or, rather, unprepared for war, when you see the activities or organisations like your own, or even the effects of the League of Nations Union, which developed what Dick Crossman called, "the myth of collective pacifism"—the myth that, if only enough people thought that war would never again come about, there would be no war. What was the effect?

S. M.: I should completely disagree with your analysis of the in-between wars situation. You refer to the League of Nations. Take the Ballot, for instance, which is so often used as an indication that this country was more pacifist than actually it was. Nearly every one of the questions in the Peace Ballot was based on Collective Security. The only two specifically pacifist questions in that ballot received practically no affirmative answers at all.

DR. W.: The only question which got the lowest number of "Yes-es" was, "Would you be prepared to use military sanctions if economic sanctions failed?"

THE CHAIRMAN: I wonder whether Father Christie has anything to say on the statement that Christ and the early Christians were unconditional pacifists?

Christ's method

FR. C.: I must disagree with Morris completely there. On what grounds do you call them pacifists? Or any of the early Christians for that matter? I think of Paul's strong assertion that he had rights as a Roman citizen, for instance.

S. M.: Take the point about our Lord first. It seems to me that Christ fundamentally refused the method of violence. Perhaps—I don't know whether you would agree—the turning point came when He did refuse to be made a King, or to be put at the head of a violent resistance movement.

It seems to me that, enshrined in the whole of the redemptive process, is this desire to convert and not to conquer; to persuade and not to force.

FR. C.: That puts you in a great difficulty. Our blessed Lord came to redeem a fallen race and that is something which is at the very root of your assumption here. Our Lord did say, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's."

You do not seem to realise that it is possible in this world for men cold-bloodedly to

establish systems of government which completely destroy every value we possess, and that our Lord's redemptive act was on the assumption that that is so.

S. M.: Oh, I agree. That only strengthens my argument because, belonging to a defeated race, living in an occupied country. He still refused the method of violence as a way of freeing the country from occupation.

DR. W.: May I come in here? I have a little verse running round my head which I must get off first, that is "That the devil can cite scripture for his own purposes." I don't know whether he is in on this tonight or not? (Laughter)

aggression and peace

Frankly this line of argument is beyond my comprehension because it starts from grounds that I don't stand on at all. But you, Fr. Christie, have said something which I think I agree with and which I would support very strongly indeed, namely that there are far worse things that can happen to individuals or nations than being involved in war, and I would have thought that your remarks, Mr. Morris, about Christ and an occupied country ought to be put side by side with France as an occupied country after 1940.

Now it seems to me that France would never have thrown off the German tyranny had it not been for the resistance movement, inspired to a certain extent by moral ideas, as, I am sure it was, but it had to use force, and brutal, bloody force.

S. M.: I am not going to dispute the fact, of course, that by superior violence you can throw out an aggressor. All I am saying is that although you may seem to have a temporary victory it proves to be no victory at all.

Let us take the broad sweep of the last war, which was fought to get rid of German militarism, yet, before a Peace Treaty is signed, we are compelling Western Germany to re-arm, and we are giving every opportunity for the resurgence of the very nationalism which we set out in the war to defeat.

That doesn't look as if the way of violence is an effective way. It may have a temporary victory, but I am not concerned with the temporary victory, but with permanent peace.

DR. W.: I don't think we are ever going to win a permanent victory in your sense of the term, Morris, at all you know. I think we are always going to find situations in the history of the world where the threat to use force, or the actual use of force, prevents something which would be a worse evil than involvement in war as part and parcel of human history.

the just war

THE CHAIRMAN: Wiseman's point there—putting forward a defence on pragmatic grounds of a just war—of course, cuts clean across what Mr. Morris said about a just war being no answer at all.

Mr. Morris thinks that a just-war is impossible nowadays, but let us hear someone else speaking from the Christian standpoint. Father Christie, have you anything to say about a just war?

FR. C.: Well, Yes, I want to support Wiseman there. I want to make two points quickly:

1. We are not discussing permanent peace. It's a fact of history that temporary peace has been attained by means of war, and we must point out that peaceful men war, and love peace while warring.

2. That you are in the awkward situation of thinking that the Christians who defeated Attila and the Saracens and the Turks did not achieve the preservation of our civilization. Had they not done what they did, England would have been like the Middle East is now; a place where slavery and harems are common.

These great men, by applying Christian principles to the just war, saved us. They did not achieve a permanent, personal peace, but they achieved a sufficient peace to allow us to discuss this matter now as highly civilised men, and we owe that to the Christian principles of the just war which are that when an authority determines that its rights are being invaded it has a right to call upon the citizen to take up arms to defend that civilisation.

In order to do so, the means it employs must be moral, and there must be a reasonable hope of success. Those are the traditional Christian principles worked out by great Christian theologians and philosophers, and, curiously enough, they are even employed by modern Trade Unions in this country today.

S. M.: Of course, I am fully aware of the conditions of a just war, but might I ask Father Christie whether he would agree with me that no modern war using nuclear weapons, shall we say, can fulfil the conditions of a just war?

evasion

FR. C.: I would immediately there, not only as a Jesuit, but as a civilized man distinguish... (Laughter) What we are discussing is whether men have the right to rise up in the defence of their own right and those of their dependents. The means they employ is a totally different question altogether.

S. M.: There I should disagree—but surely you have not answered my question. I don't know whether you want to evade it.

FR. C.: I don't think it's relevant to this discussion.

STUART MORRIS' BBC BROADCAST

S. M.: Oh, but surely! The approval which the Christian Churches give to war today is either on the basis of the just war theory or on the theory which is so akin to it—that of the lesser evil.

FR. C.: No—unconsciously I think you are being unfair there. Nobody has given approval to a modern war. What the Christian Churches say in general terms is that men have a right to defend themselves.

S. M.: I would agree entirely.

FR. C.: What they do in defending themselves is another matter.

S. M.: I would agree entirely that not only has man a right to defend himself and his ideals, but he has a duty to do it. What I am saying is that he cannot defend either himself or his ideals by the method of war. He defeats...

FR. C.: (Interrupting) Can we get the clear? What war?

S. M.: Any war you like. I am talking about war in general.

DR. W.: You are surely not saying... like concrete illustrations; I am out of my depth with these generalisations. Here we have, let us say, a German invasion of Britain in 1940. Here you have German soldiers lying in Britain. Now are you seriously suggesting that the ideals which we stand for in this country—Christian, agnostic and humanist alike—because they share a lot of the same views.

FR. C.: We won't make them too alike. (Laughter)

applying principles

DR. W.: Are you seriously suggesting that these ideals would have been better served by our lying down and refusing to resist the Germans rather than defending ourselves on the beaches and destroying thousands of them in the back streets of London?

S. M.: That's a very familiar argument which attempts to draw the line and says the pacifist: Now here's a situation which didn't create, but which had been created by a belief in violence—now come in and clear it up. I go back much further than that.

What I say is that if pacifist principles have been operated in the in-between war period there need never have been a war.

DR. W.: But this is such a lovely generalisation! You see, I remember someone saying when the Kellogg Pact for the outlawing of war was signed in 1928: It pre-supposes a high level of morals which had it existed, the Pact would have been unnecessary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, this under-developed country business.

FR. C.: Oh yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Morris says that the way to combat Communism is by turning resources which are at present applied to developing those under-developed countries. Any comments, Father Christie?

FR. C.: Oh yes. I really was not impressed by that. Get this clear, Mr. Morris. In your speech what you said was: that we should spend nothing on armaments but all our money on raising the standards of living. Now I just can't see that this has anything to do with the problem of war.

S. M.: Oh surely! I mean, as I put it quite definitely, it is one answer to those who are afraid of the menace of Communism.

FR. C.: Why?

a real alternative

S. M.: Because as it seems to me, military aggression on the part of the Communists is hypothetical. What is a fact which we have to face is that the danger of Communism is this infiltration everywhere, and infiltration is easiest where the conditions are such as to make it possible for Communism to say that Communism can give people what the Western world and democracy have never given them.

Now, if it is true that it is possible for Communists to exploit the bad conditions, to remove that possibility if you show an awakening world that democracy—that Christianity, if you like—really has got something to offer, which Communism fails to do.

FR. C.: But history shows that when you have made them richer and more powerful they are much more likely to go to war.

THE CHAIRMAN: Would you like to take up that point, Mr. Morris, and give us a very brief summary of your general position, because time, as some philosopher remarked, waits for no man.

S. M.: It does seem to me that the only way in which we are going to show the awakening world that violence is not the solution of problems is to present them with an alternative. Otherwise we have got the danger not only of an East-West strife, but a strife between coloured and so-called white people.

Surely the Christian world ought to be able to show these people not only that we are prepared to care for their material and physical needs, but prepared to meet their spiritual needs.

It is only by giving them the alternative of non-violent resistance—of love in action at the time—that we have any chance of getting the better of Communism, or making the world a Christian world.

And it seems to me that pacifism really does represent the challenge of faith and hope to the present policy of fear and despair.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Morris. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

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every Friday by filling in the form below today and handing it to your newsagent.

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MORRIS DCAST

IN EREWHON TODAY: XII

By Dick Darlington

DEAR DICK:

That was a pretty problem you put: about what to do when your workers start demanding that the VIPs on your side should meet the VIPs from your enemy's side.

We are not much worried because when we meet the VIPs from our enemies we are meeting people very like ourselves.

Of course, what the workers should demand would be that they should get into direct touch with the enemy's workers. Indeed, we allow a little of this kind of mixing; just to show willing.

Our enemy, however, is no more anxious for our workers to mix with his than we are for his to mix with ours. You're safe on that wicket... is that the phrase you use?

I admit, though, that sometimes the demand for the VIPs to get together can be embarrassingly inconvenient.

When that happens here, we pack our bags and go to a place called Avenge. There we meet our enemy's VIPs, give each other dinner parties, publish photographs of us shaking hands; and the workers of both sides, thinking the Millennium is just round the corner, take no more notice of what we are arranging for their next holiday.

Of course, if, at Avenge, the enemy should begin to make real concessions, this is what I call "awkward." There is only one thing to do: sow suspicion.

After all, why should an enemy make concessions? He must be up to something. So it is quite fair to let newspaper commentators warn their readers against trusting the enemy. The workers fall for this every time.

And in any case they cannot find out what is true. At times, I feel sorry for them.

I do wonder whether they have ever noticed that we trust the enemy more in war-time than in times of alleged peace. Strange that!

Sincerely,
YDOBON.

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Letters to the Editor

The gulf between

MAURICE CRANSTON'S letters have shown the gulf between pacifists and peace-lovers. I would say to him—"On condition that the H-bomb proves to be a deterrent, your position is sound if you can by some casuistry square it with your Christianity."

"But if the bomb proves instead to be the means whereby mankind destroys himself, you may be very remorseful in some other world for having publicly proclaimed your faith in it."

What exactly is it that the H-bomb's frightfulness is supposed to deter men from? Not from using it, for both sides in the struggle have said in effect, "If you start anything, its frightfulness will not deter us from using it."

The only thing it may deter is an act of deliberate unprovoked aggression. But war is more likely to start in other ways, as the Middle East is daily demonstrating.

The surest way to a fight is to shake your fist and threaten, the way to peace is to see the other man's case. The Russians are as convinced of our aggressive intentions as we are of theirs.

Do we ever try to understand their "invasion complex" caused by being invaded within living memory twice by the Germans and once by Britain and US in 1920?

The beginning of wisdom is to see yourself through other eyes. Throughout the whole Asian world we British and Americans are regarded as "the so-called Christian people who put their main trust in weapons of mass slaughter."

Major General Glubb has just said that we in the West are losing the global battle of ideas. Yes, because instead of proclaiming the faith of Jesus Christ we proclaim the faith of H-bombs.

Combe Farm,
Dunsford, Exeter.

ALEX LEA.

"Privates Progress"

FUNNY films are not expected to create comical situations away from the screen. Yet that is what Private's Progress, the film that mocks the Army and all it stands for (recommended by Ronald Mallone in Peace News, March 30) did in Exeter.

The manager of the cinema where this satirical frolic was due for showing followed precedent. He arranged for the free military boost usually so readily forthcoming for a film advertising the Army.

The response to his efforts was on the expected generous scale. For the opening night he was promised from the local Depot of the Devonshire Regiment and Wessex Training Brigade an Army Cadet Force band at the head of fifty officers and men.

The Depot was to provide also an exhibition of military uniforms and equipment (including a sentry box) dating from the Napoleonic era down to the present.

Red tunics and black busbies were to disguise the usherettes, and a recruiting sergeant's box was to adorn the foyer. The ice-cream and chocolate kiosk was labelled NAAFI, the usherettes rooms became WRAC's quarters, and the lavatories were designated other ranks' ablutions.

But at the last minute a horrified War Office,

which all along resolutely refused to assist in this particular private's peculiar progress, ordered the quickest about turn in military history.

Except for laughter all is now quiet on the south-western front.

SAM WALSH.

10 Stevenstone Court,
St. Giles-in-the-Wood,
Torrington, Devon.

Stalin

A. J. MUSTE, writing from the USA, jumps to extremes over the Stalin issue. But he is certainly correct that the myth of infallibility has been ended, that the Soviet Government and leaders are prepared to recognise mistakes in a way other governments are reluctant to do, and that a great stimulus to an extension of democratic discussion has been given to the Soviet people.

On the other hand, while Stalin is revealed as having gradually become guilty of a series of abuses of power, this does not mean the admission of "every accusation" ever made, but in fact includes the categorical rejection of a number of such accusations.

Moreover, the positive development of the USSR from a backward agrarian country to one of the world's greatest industrial countries under Stalin's leadership is a fact of history, well known to the Soviet people, which nobody tries to deny.

The positive achievements under Stalin's leadership, in fact, actually assisted the creation of the myth of infallibility which has now been officially torpedoed.

For the first time, officially and publicly, an objective reassessment of Stalin's role is to be made in the USSR.

Thus, instead of exclusive emphasis on the positive side, the negative features are now to be seriously considered in order that they and their results can be eliminated.

Such a change in the USSR can only help to develop normal peaceful relations between the USSR and other countries, makes possible a far greater objectivity on the part of both sides in dealing with the other, and it is to be hoped that pacifists everywhere will seize the new opportunities for strengthening all aspects of the work for peace.

PAT SLOAN.

British-Soviet Friendship Society,
36 Spencer St., London, E.C.1.

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MUSTE

★ FROM
PAGE TWO

hardest workers in the struggle, a solid increase in wages results. The strike was a bally nuisance to the US Strategic Command.

Thus is history made. Thus the balance of power shifts in spite of or because of America's military power and far-flung bases.

In Ceylon an election has already taken place and has apparently been a bigger surprise than Harry Truman's election here in 1948. In this case the Communists do not appear to have been a factor of any importance.

The 25 years' reign of Sir John Kotelawala and his United National Party was brought to an end by a coalition—familiar pattern—composed of the Ceylon Freedom Party which its brilliant and wealthy leader, Solomon West Ridgway Diaz Bandaranaike calls "Democratic Socialist," a Trotskyist (of all things) and a strongly Buddhist group.

ISSUE WITH A DIFFERENCE

Again, the chief issue is economic. The price of rice and sugar is high; corruption is charged against government officials; wages on the tea plantations are inadequate; young peasants acquire an education and then find there are no jobs for them. First priorities, says the Premier-elect will be given to such economic problems as unemployment, irrigation, abolition of discrimination in public service.

The one important difference between Iceland and Ceylon is that in the former the Communist Party is involved, in the latter there is a coalition which excludes them and can as a matter of fact dispense with them, because it is for just as fundamental economic and political changes as are the Communists, and is as unequivocally against the *status quo*.

One wonders—we do not as yet have enough information to have a confident opinion—whether in this coalition and in Mr. Bandaranaike we have a genuine Third Camp coming into office in a small yet strategic country.

In any event we guess that Mr. Bandaranaike will go far. When questioned about anti-Americanism he replied: "How could I be hostile to a country that produced Mark Twain?" In view of Mark Twain's anti-imperialism and his vitriolic denunciations of war, this was a very, very, bright reply!

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1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).
Friday, April 20
LANCASTER: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Gp. Mtg. PPU.
LONDON, W.11: 8 p.m.; 19 Pembroke Villas. "With Bhodan in Bihar," David Margett. IVSP.
LONDON, N.W.1: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Ho., 21st Anniversary Gathering. PPU.
Saturday, April 21-Sunday, April 22
LONDON, W.C.1: Mary Ward Hall, Tavistock Pl., PPU AGM. PPU.
Saturday, April 21
LEYTONSTONE: 7 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Annual Reunion Concert and Buy Sale. E.10 and E.11. PPU.
Sunday, April 22
CROYDON: 8.15 p.m.; Adult School Hall, Park Lane. "Christian Pacifism—Answers to Questions," John Ferguson, M.A., B.D. FOR. "War on Want," John S. Hoy.
Monday, April 23
CARDIFF: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Ho., 43 Charles St. Film show, "World without War." Cardiff Pacifist Gp. and War on Want.
LONDON, N.10: 7.30 p.m.; 40 Collingwood Ave. "Peace Action in Horsely." Joint mtg. of Fellowship Party. FOR. PPU. SOF.
MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.; Lesser Free Trade Hall, Peter St. Children of Hiroshima (C.H.S.). Adm. 35s. Manchester United Peace Fellowship.
Tuesday, April 24
BELFAST: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Strand St. "China Revisited," Janet Rees.
Every week!
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LONDON: Weekend Workcamp, cleaning and decorating the homes of old-age pensioners. EVSP, 19 Pembroke Villas, W.11.
SUNDAYS
RYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.
TUESDAYS
MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.
THURSDAYS
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. "Psychical Research," Kurt Woerner. PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: 8.10 and 8.11 Group PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly Peace Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of various denominations.
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Shephard. Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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MEETINGS
BIRMINGHAM. D. N. PRITT, O.C., speaks on the eve of the visit of Bulgaria and Khrushchev at Oozells St. School (Off Broad St., near Hall of Memory) at 7 p.m., Sunday, April 22. "The Arms Race: a threat to Jobs and Peace." Questions. Adm. 6d. Birmingham Peoples Peace Committee.
THIRD WAY Members Meeting. Friends' International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., W.C.1. April 24, 7.30 p.m. Gene Sharp. "A Second Look at Third Thought."

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Huddleston warns U.K. parties

It was not the duty of the Christian Church to say in detail how economic, social and political integration would work out. "But unless we have our Christian society on Christian principles, then we have no right to claim that it is Christian."

VOICE FROM WITHOUT

"Within South Africa today, the Church—and I speak of my own Church—has for many years protested with great vigour; their statements have been strong, models of what should be said. But we have seen the Government proceeding with equal vigour, opposing all these statements by their actions."

"It seems to me that we have done all that we could as a Christian voice in South Africa; it is for Christians without to make their voice heard."

COMMONWEALTH

Questioned concerning his remark that South Africa should be thrown out of the Commonwealth, Father Huddleston said he believed that the present policies of South Africa were a grave embarrassment to the Commonwealth, to the Central African Federation which professed and was pursuing policies in the opposite direction, and to other African members of the Commonwealth who could not enter South Africa with any degree of dignity.

"They stay at our Mission because no one else will have them," he added.

UNITED NATIONS

On British policy at the United Nations, Father Huddleston agreed that it was not enough for Britain merely to abstain from voting. It was here that the Christian conscience of Britain should become vocal, and impress itself on the British Government.

PROTECTORATES

It should also be made clear to the political parties in Britain that any United Kingdom Government that accepted the transfer of the African Protectorates to South Africa would be thrown out of office.

CENTRAL AFRICA

Speaking of Central African Federation Father Huddleston said that the next five years would be the vital years.

He had met the Governor and Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia; they were determined to press for partnership, and to make partnership work.

But the same forces were at work in the Federation as in South Africa.

It was too early to say with certainty in which direction the Federation would move.

Closely questioned about his reasons for recalling Father Huddleston, Father Raynes,

SENTENCES

FROM PAGE ONE

David Graham was older and much more mature, but they were not persuaded that his philosophical views amounted to a matter of conscience. They nevertheless considered the sentence to be excessive and reduced it to nine months.

The Chairman then announced that, in view of the information they had obtained during the hearing of Harold Elston's appeal, they had reconsidered their decision in the case of Tony Blackmore, and that his sentence, too, would be reduced to one month.

NEXT WEEK

REPORTS of the successful PPU demonstration at Swindon, the Labour Peace Fellowship Annual Meeting, the Women's International League meeting and many other reports are held over until next week's issue. This will be our enlarged Spring Book Number which will include a review of the new biography of Corder Catchpool and many other important books.

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Speakers:
John Loverseed, A.F.C.
Sam Johnson, B.Sc. (Christian Party)
Ronald Mallone, B.A.
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Superior of the Community of the Resurrection, gave "an absolute and categorical denial" that there had been any yielding to pressure from South Africa or other interested parties. They were not closing down in South Africa.

LOUW AND THE SLUMS

Questioned on the recent attack made on him by Mr. E. H. Louw, South Africa's Minister of Finance and External Affairs, and his report on the removal of Africans to Meadowlands, Father Huddleston said: "It is true that Sophiatown is in many respects a slum; it is grossly overcrowded. But the real slums are the Orlando shelters, where 30,000 people live in lean-to huts, with no doors and with roofs held on by stones; the emergency camp of Moroka; and the dwellings on the periphery of Johannesburg, where several thousands live in locations which were condemned fifty years ago."

Sophiatown was incomparably better in every way. If the Government had been sincere in their desire for slum clearance they would not have started with Sophiatown.

Father Huddleston speaks in the Central Hall, Westminster on Monday at 7.30 p.m. Tickets for two overflow meetings can be had at the door. He preaches in St. Paul's Cathedral on Sunday, May 6.

Spokesmen from all races were expected to address a memorial meeting for Manilal Gandhi at the Gandhi Hall, Johannesburg last Tuesday, among them were the Rev. A. Blaxall, Chairman of the S. African Fellowship of Reconciliation.

DOES WHITEHALL WANT A PEACE ARMY?

★ FROM PAGE ONE

It would appear that the British Foreign Office have not as yet made any serious study of the ways and means of raising a pacifist army or a national contingent.

Are they looking to the world pacifist movement for a lead in this direction?

General Sir John Glubb speaks next Tuesday at the third of a series of National Peace Council lunch time lectures on Christian Responsibility and International Affairs, held at St. Stephen's, Walbrook, E.C.4, at 1.15 p.m. Speaker on May 1 will be Canon Edward Carpenter.

Sir Michael McDonnell, for many years Chairman of the London Appellate Tribunal, has died.

The first case of a Negro Roman Catholic Bishop consecrating a white Bishop took place in Kabgayi Cathedral, Ruanda, Central Africa, on March 25. Mgr. Andrew Perraudin was consecrated by a Bishop Bigirimwam, Vicar Apostolic of Nyundo.

The Johannesburg, South Africa, Fellowship of Reconciliation's first meeting of the year was marked by a larger attendance of Africans than usual.

Unconfirmed reports from South Africa state that a Bill amending the Defence Act may be introduced this year making Cadet Corps training compulsory for all boys of 12 years and upwards.

Briefly

The Friends of India, Dundee (A Scottish organisation promoting knowledge of non-violence), sent a message of greeting to the Negroes of Montgomery Alabama on "Deliverance Day," recently.

New plans to help protect nearly 33 million people against malaria in Latin America, Asia and Africa have been launched by the United Nations Children's Fund. The agency's 26-nation Executive Board has voted some \$3,374,000 for this. Mexico will get the largest single share—\$2,400,000—the most ever received by any country in one sum from UNICEF.

Copies of "I Confess . . .", the leading article in "The Pilot," an American Catholic weekly, are obtainable from F. O'Hanlon, St. Michael's, Hayling Rise, Worthing. "I Confess . . ." deals with the releasing of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

"Disarmament is possible," a memorandum prepared by a group of scientists is published by Science for Peace and is available from The Secretary, 16 Ulster Place, N.W.1, at 2d. each copy or 1s. 9d. per dozen.

Montgomery boycott in seventeenth week

THE MAN BEHIND THE MAN

By BOBB HAMILTON

REVEREND Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Montgomery "Buscott" spoke to an overflowing audience at a Brooklyn church on March 25. He had just come from Alabama where a week before he was found guilty of "illegally and without cause boycotting a business enterprise."

This was after witness after witness had recounted all manner of insults heaped on their patient heads: "I hate niggers," "Say shine," "Y'all black cows and apes, git back!"

The Mayor, W. A. Gayle, when asked by the Judge whether he considered excessive the demands of Negroes for courtesy and better seating arrangements replied: "It couldn't be allowed by law."

The meeting went off with usual smoothness, broken now and then by "Amen!" King is a debonair, well-read speaker who holds an audience in the spell of his rhetoric and sincerity.

Of course, there was the usual patriotic crank who wanted everyone to pledge allegiance to the flag first. The Master of Ceremonies asked him to behave in a manner becoming to a guest and he was quickly forgotten.

TAKING INITIATIVE

I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. E. D. Nixon, another leading personality in the bus boycott, recently at the Community Church of New York. Listening to him speak confirmed in my mind the belief that oft-times the sole determinant as to whether or not a man will be great is the amount of formal education he has.

This by no means discredits Rev. M. L. King, but I say that if Nixon had had King's education, Montgomery would have stirred much earlier than December 1955.

In 1950, after Supreme Court rulings enfranchising the Southern Negro, Nixon organised in Alabama a club whose prerequisites to membership was to be a registered voter.

As head of the Montgomery Improvement Association, he got sidewalks and pavements in the Negro sections of the town which would have been ignored but for him.

Mr. Nixon told in his earthy humorous way how after he had called a meeting back in December, all of the ministers had protested that a boycott was infeasible and

would not work, until he "threatened" to denounce them as cowards at the next big meeting.

Then King arose indignantly with a "Nobody calls me a coward!" At this point, Nixon's "plant" arose and nominated King; Nixon seconded the motion and the boycott was over its birth pangs.

Some of my more rigid readers will probably gasp, "trickery!" I should like to remind them that Nixon with great humility faced up to his own "shortcomings" and went to find someone who not only had integrity, but who also had the "book learning" which is held in such high esteem by the American Negro. He found these in the Rev. Martin Luther King.

DELIVERANCE DAY

How many organisations have died prematurely because of the vanity of an incompetent leader?

After the meeting, a sum of money was given to Mr. Nixon to be used by the Montgomery Improvement Association, c/o Mr. E. D. Nixon, 725 Dorsey Street, Montgomery, Alabama, USA.

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TIME TO ACT

There is only one thing we should carry in the foreground of our minds—never trust a Russian Communist further than you can kick him.

—Marshal of the Royal Air Force, Sir John Slessor, April 15, 1956.
... we must stop arguing and start acting . . . Let us strive to replace mutual terror by mutual trust.

—Mr. Anthony Nutting, Minister of State, March 19, 1956.

SIR JOHN SLESSOR'S remark quoted above was made in the course of a speech at a conference of the German-English association at Koenigswinter. He warned the conference against taking risks to secure Russian agreement on disarmament.

In fact his implication is that Russia must take the first steps in disarmament, and that the Western Powers should do nothing until a system of inspection and control is actually established and in operation.

Now though Mr. Anthony Nutting, speaking at the first of the resumed meetings of the five Power Sub-committee of the United Nations Disarmament Commission, said something that might be taken as a fundamental difference of opinion with Sir John Slessor on this matter, it would appear on closer examination that there was little more than lip service to the idea of action rather than argument, and no positive statement of proposed British initiative.

If we are to stop arguing and act, then some action must be decided upon.

Where Sir John Slessor is explicit, in that he contends such action must come from Russia and not from the West, Mr. Nutting is vague, but he does at least use peaceful and conciliatory language, whereas Sir John

Slessor's new version of not trusting further than sight is particularly derogatory and vicious.

His address to an audience consisting largely of our late enemies is, to say the very least, somewhat ironic; it is not so long ago that the men of the British forces were enthusiastically shaking hands with Russian Communists as side-by-side they bestrode the fallen body of their German enemy.

It will be argued that in the exigencies of war there was no alternative to trusting the USSR, just as it will be argued that on grounds of expediency there is no alternative now to trusting our one-time German foe.

The Russians are constantly accused of twisting and turning their coats, somersaulting and changing sides overnight; it is a sorry sight to watch British statesmen and soldiers doing very much the same.

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If we are to strive to replace terror with trust some positively peaceful action is needed. It is plainly impossible, not to say absurd, to expect that the Soviet Union, whose every word is distrusted, whose smallest concession is viewed with the utmost suspicion, whose simplest action is alleged to contain some ulterior motive, to make the first move.

If the Western Powers' motives are above reproach it should not be so very difficult to prove it. Naturally argument must always be better than the terrible action of war, and both sides would appear to be agreed upon that.

But if mutual trust is to be established as a first step towards overthrowing the reign of mutual H-bomb terror, some positive action for peace, as different from protestations of righteousness, must be made.

Because war has proved itself so futile, because belief in it has brought us to the verge of total destruction, mankind is perhaps nearer to the moment when a decision to discard it is seen to be the only possible course, than it has ever been in the whole history of the world.

Agreement to renounce war is, however, not enough, as the pathetic failure of the Kellogg Pact signatories to keep their treaty of non-renunciation, proved. There must be a positive and courageous act of faith.

If Britain were to abolish conscription and stop the rocket tests about to take place in Monte Bello there could be no misunderstanding of the Government's intention to show the way to disarmament, and undoubtedly so planned an action would be its own witness of good faith.

FELLOWSHIP PARTY

ON March 28, the Fellowship Party Executive accepted the resignation of Eric Fenner, who has joined the Independent Labour Party, and appointed in his place as General Secretary, Ronald S. Mallone, B.A. The Fellowship Party Office is now Woolcombe House, 141 Woolcombe Rd., Blackheath, S.E.3.

On the national Deliverance Day of prayer held appropriately on Holy Thursday, March 28, thousands, perhaps millions of people wore pink cards captioned:

"Let my people go"
Good Lord, deliver us
from
PREJUDICE
INJUSTICE
SEGREGATION

MAKE AMERICA TRULY FREE!
The back of the card was headed "Personal Poster of Prayer and Protest," and urged people wherever they might be to wear the card prominently all day, to seek some quiet place for prayer during the day, such as the nearest Church, an auditorium or one's own home, to remain silent, quiet, to meditate, pray and read.

"Let no one provoke you to defend your witness," the card said. It urged people to send one hour's pay to the Montgomery Improvement Association.

Money has poured in from all over the country as people sent in their hour's wages. I personally regret that because of "political" considerations the unions and the work ministers and leaders called off the work stoppage originally proposed by Adam Clayton Powell, the Negro Congressman from Harlem.

We need more Nixon's behind the scenes it seems.

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